20¢ NOVEMBER 7, 1949

New Republic

PLAN FOR THE ATOM

WHAT RUSSIA AND THE U.S. COULD DO NOW

CATHOLICISM IN THE WORLD CRISIS

FIRST OF A SERIES by PERCY WINNER

EDGAR SNOW ON JACK BELDEN'S "CHINA SHAKES THE WORLD"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sound Action—

depends on sound ideas. Ideas decide the trend of industry, the goal of politics, the aspiration of feminism, the advance of labor, the adjustment of commercialism to democracy.

In devoting itself to ideas, the *New Republic* is working on the simple theory that there is a growing public in this country which no longer regards ideas as inherently dull, but sees in them the means by which a firm order may be established.

THE ABOVE, the first advertisement of the New Republic, appeared on page 31 of Vol. 1, No. 1, dated November 7, 1914. Apart from the reference to feminism, then a burning question, the advertisement, after thirty-five years, is as pertinent as when it was written. That, we believe, is because the principle upon which this magazine was founded is an unchanging one, however great social and economic changes may be. Sound action, now as always, depends on sound ideas. And the New Republic, now as always, is devoted to discovering the sound ideas that are needed to meet the challenge of today.

A series of nine articles—articles with ideas—will soon begin in the New Republic to commemorate the completion of our 35th year of publication. Following is the list of distinguished contributors and their subjects:

William H. Kilpatrick—*Education*; Dr. Edward U. Condon—*Science*
Malcolm Cowley—*The Creative Artist;* Dr. Warren S. Thompson—*Population*; James R. Newman—*The Atom*; Robert Nathan—*Business*
Marguerite Clark—*Medicine*; Clyde Kluckhohn—*Morals and Manners*
Philip Murray—*Trade Unions*

To make sure of reading these and other contributions to the New Republic, you must subscribe. A convenient introductory order form is provided below. Please use it.

INTRODUCTORY OFFER
(valid to new subscribers)

$2.00 FOR 24 WEEKS

NEW REPUBLIC, 40 East 49 Street, New York 17, N. Y.
For the enclosed $2.00 please enter my subscription for 24 weeks.

Name_____ Street_____

City_____ Zone____ State_____

11/7/49

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Republic

CONTENTS FOR NOV. 7, 1949

5 A Proposal for Atomic Peace: An Editorial
8 The Week:
8 Split in the CIO
8 Schism on the Left
9 After Devaluation
9 Shadow of Fear
9 Study of Monopoly Power
10 Propaganda Against TVA
11 Catholicism in the World Crisis by Percy Winner
13 The Opportunity in Berlin by James Loeb Jr.
15 The Animal or the Child? by Bruce Bliven
17 Harold L. Ickes
18 Books:
18 In China the People Decided by Edgar Snow
19 South of the Border by Anne L. Goodman
20 Brief Comment
21 Theatre
22 Radio and Television
23 Bandwagon

EDITOR: Michael Straight

EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Bruce Bliven

PUBLISHER: Daniel Mebane

MANAGING EDITOR: Jack Weeks

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Malcolm Cowley, John Farrelly, Harold L. Ickes, Joseph P. Lash, Max Lerner, James R. Newman, Gus Tyler

FOREIGN AFFAIRS EDITOR: Percy Winner

WASHINGTON BUREAU: Helen Fuller (Political Editor), Jean Begeman

DEPARTMENTS: Robert Hatch (Chief), Cecil Smith (Music), Saul Carson (Radio and Televison), Harold Clurman (Theatre), Lincoln Kirstein (Fine Arts)

COPY EDITING: Elizabeth Huling (Chief), Ruth Tarcov

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1949, IN THE U. S. A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY 20¢; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, $6.50; CANADA AND FOREIGN, $7.50. PRINTED IN THE U. S. A.

WASHINGTON WIRE

SUMNER SLICHTER of Harvard comes right out and says the Cold War is good for the American economy. It sounds shocking and cynical, but Slichter is an economist and not a moral philosopher, and there it is. It is good for the economy, he implies, because except for the Cold War the government wouldn't intervene to the same extent in business and there would be unemployment and maybe a slump. Slichter made these remarks October 25 in New York in a little-noticed speech.

Of course the eminent economist didn't defend the Cold War. Communists will naturally accuse him of that. He just stated the situation as he saw it and got no gratification out of it. He made another observation, too, just as brusque and brutal. Congress is probably going to keep up deficit financing, off and on, for as long as we can see. Instead of ruining the country, the continuous, mild inflationary effect will stimulate enterprise and expansion. (Its national economic effect seems to be something like that product of Drew Pearson's that spells Nature's backward.)

Will the national debt be paid? No. US output will be so much higher in 20 or 30 years, says the professor, that the debt burden will sink proportionately. The key figure here is our magical output, which tends to rise two or three percent per man hour, per year, because of technological progress. Total national output should double every 20 years or so. It's been so since the country started.

Where does this leave us? We ought to try to end the Cold War as quickly as possible and then substitute something for it to keep the economy hitting on all six. As to the theory of slow inflation diminishing the burden of national debt—that will shock lots of people, too. But it's not a new theory. It would be a lot safer and better if Congress *would* end deficits in good times, instead of cutting taxes $5 billion as the GOP 80th Congress did.

The Lehman-Dulles fight has been fun. They are high-caliber men in a low-caliber campaign. The tone of the campaign was set by Dulles. It is clear that this type of anything-goes electioneering was what the GOP blamed Tom Dewey for not giving them last year, and in New York they staked everything on it. We shall respect Lehman to our dying day for his full, complete support of Mrs. Roosevelt in the Spellman-Barden bill fracas at the risk of his political future.

There is real danger that the restless GOP, ever seeking an issue, will go all-out on the unification row in behalf of the Navy against Truman. The temptation is to do another hickenlooper, as in atomic energy. This situation is about as bad as it can get and should be kept out of politics. Any admiral taking Denfeld's place will have a rough time. We feel the Vinson House Committee mismanaged things terribly by its loose, publicity-seeking methods. We suggest that national interest now demands an impartial, external commission like the Pearl Harbor inquiry to give a moral basis for a fresh approach.

The trial of J. Parnell Thomas (R, N. J.), ex-House Un-American Activities Committee chairman and scourge of the Reds, is set for Monday, November 7, just one year after he was indicted on the charge of padding office payrolls through kickbacks from government employees. After a year's delay doctors have found him well enough to face trial. Hitherto he has refused to respond to questions on the ground that answers might tend to incriminate or degrade him. All this

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

time he has been receiving full salary as a Representative and privileges at government hospitals.

Everything that comes to this column's attention bespeaks the seriousness of the growing Yugoslav crisis. Will the US-USSR go to war over Tito? The Soviet is mobilizing guerrilla warfare around Tito, à la Greece, and will avoid direct invasion. The theory is that this will prevent US intervention. Will it? The thing to remember is that Yugoslavia is more vulnerable than most Americans realize. At the same time, Titoism is spreading in satellite countries. Should Americans support Tito? There are ethical questions here. If we recognize Tito, how about Franco? One is an anti-clerical, the other a pro-clerical, dictator. Are there other differences? Whatever America does, it will be well to face facts. For the next year Yugoslavia is going to be the world's powder keg.

Notes. Four months after refusing Canadian Professor Glen Shortliffe a visa to teach at Washington University, St. Louis, the Justice Department lifted its ban last week as mysteriously and inexplicably as it had imposed it. Shortliffe belongs to the CCF, equivalent to the British Labour Party: some Justice Department sleuth probably thought it was subversive. . . . *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent Edmund Stevens is out of Moscow writing a fascinating factual series on Soviet life which we heartily recommend; while not expelled, Stevens felt it wiser to leave.

Britain pays food subsidies, too—$1.3 billion for this year. While America pays subsidies to keep consumer prices up, Socialist Britain pays them to keep prices down. . . . Life-insurance companies now have more than $50 billion in net assets on which they receive $1.5 billion income. They are neither federally regulated nor do they pay income tax; if two current House investigations really press their inquiry they will find the insurance lobby the toughest in the country.

Washington T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

Booby Trap

SIR: Unless I had a very bad mental lapse indeed, I did not write, in the final sentence of my tribute to John Dewey, that he is the "Plato" of our marketplace. I said *Socrates*. Plato makes no sense in this connection, and makes me out to be an illiterate booby.

Gambier, Ohio ROBERT HILLYER

[The booby in this case is not Mr. Hillyer, but an editor of the *New Republic* who substituted *Plato* for *Socrates* in careless typing and sent the mangled copy to the printer without benefit of proofreading. We apologize to Mr. Hillyer (and to John Dewey) for making nonsense of an acute observation. – THE EDITORS]

Man and Power

SIR: In the closing sessions of the United Nations Scientific Conference on the Conservation and Utilization of Resources, which lasted three full weeks during the past summer at Lake Success, Mrs. Gifford Pinchot voiced an emphatic protest against the exclusively technical character of the proceedings. . . . It developed through the ensuing discussion—bordering on the acrimonious at times—that the instructions under which the conference was held restricted the participants essentially to laboratory talk and precluded any reference to man or his relation to the developing and challenging resources situation. . . . The *New Republic*, September 19, published a short article by A. G. Mezerik supporting Mrs. Pinchot's protest.

In the light of what happened at Lake Success and somewhat comparable recent occurrences in other fields, it would appear that liberals must give increasing attention to the conduct of gatherings, technical in part and supported by public funds, where the effort is made to exclude reference to the impact on man . . . of the techniques under discussion. . . .

In drafting the program for the World Power Conference (a gathering of electrical authorities from more than 50 nations, held in Washington in the fall of 1936 under the sponsorship of President Roosevelt and the chairmanship of Secretary Ickes) every effort was made to include the social implications of power as well as its technical development. This was a revolutionary change in the policy which had been followed since the early twenties when the Conference was started. It is most unfortunate that in the World Power Conference to be held in London in 1950—the first since the Washington meeting—the British National Committee, with whom the responsibility rests, has decided to revert to the original scheme of things and treat power wholly from the "engineering and economic viewpoints as distinct from the administrative and political," thus excluding entirely the social viewpoint from which the peoples of the world have the most to gain. . . .

The American Committee for the World Power Conference is recognized as an agency of the privately owned electric-utility industry. In view of the negligible influence of US Government officials in the affairs of the WPC and the continued exclusion of social considerations from its programs . . . the time seems to have arrived for the public to withdraw completely from the WPC. This should include government employees whose expenses are paid out of public funds to attend conferences in foreign countries. The WPC will then be clearly recognized for what it is and has been—the international body which represents the private, as contrasted with the public, interests in power. It would appear to be no trick at all to set up a new worldwide organization where the overwhelming public interest in power, at home and abroad, would be adequately presented and safeguarded.

I predict that if this were done, the WPC overnight would become more socially minded.

Washington, D. C. MORRIS L. COOKE

The Indian Bureau

SIR: Congratulations on your article, "To Set the Indians Free" (the *NR*, October 3). In discussing the serious problems of group prejudices, state politics and public health involved in the Indian question, Oliver La Farge clearly shows that a simple elimination of the Indian Bureau would not set many Indians free. On the other hand, the Bureau, for all its excellent work, has tended to regard itself as destined to look after Indians in perpetuity, and the continued dependence of the Indians over several generations is not good either for them or for the US. . . .

A sudden and shortsighted elimination of wardship would be unfortunate, but a policy of waiting for Indians to become self-reliant under wardship as recommended by Mr. La Farge is not much better. Wards never make their wardens superfluous. What is needed is a determined program aimed at self-liquidation on the part of the Indian Bureau. . . .

New Haven, Conn. JOHN F. EMBREE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOLUME 121, NUMBER 19, ISSUE 1823, NEW YORK CITY, NOVEMBER 7, 1949 **New Republic**

A PROPOSAL FOR ATOMIC PEACE

NEW IDEAS are painful and new ideas in politics are among the most painful of all. Yet in new ideas, in a fresh appraisal of beliefs stubbornly held, lies the only hope, small as it may be, of breaking the UN deadlock on atomic-energy control.

President Truman, in his first statement on atomic energy since the announcement of the Soviet bomb, still clings to the so-called Baruch Plan. The interim report of the six permanent members of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, released last week, indicates how sharply the majority and the Russians are still split. The British, for example, while conceding the need for an armament convention as proposed by the Russians, make this conditional upon the adoption of the control system; the Russians, while appearing to endorse the majority's plan for inspection, are in fact opposed to any inspection system deserving of the name and will have nothing to do with the international ownership of atomic plants.

From first to last, two conflicting approaches have dominated the American proposals: the scientists insist that we must take risks for peace as the only means of preventing war; the military insist that we can take no risks because we must win the war if war comes. Caught between these approaches, our policy has never been entirely clear.

Nor is the most recent Russian proposal—by Deputy Foreign Minister Malik—for a census of atomic as well as conventional weapons, likely to quicken the peace-lover's pulse. It is scarcely that bold forward leap of the imagination needed to hurdle the obstacles in the way of an agreement. Warren Austin's reply to the proposal was no whit better. To characterize the Soviet suggestion as merely "another attempt to fool the public" is feckless, though it may be correct. The toughness of our line is not in doubt and need not be reaffirmed on every occasion. Nor is it incumbent on us to jeer at the Soviets whenever they make a proposal simply because they denounce us whenever we make one. Above all, it is a dangerous practice to strike attitudes while poised on the edge of a cliff.

It is necessary to reëxamine the main features of the American control plan. It provides for the establishment of an international authority which would own and control raw-material sources and the plants for large-scale manufacture of fissionable substances. Resources are to be allocated to individual nations for research and so-called "non-dangerous" operations. An inspection system is to monitor possible violations at mines and in plants; punishment in the event of violations may not be halted by invoking the Security Council veto. Finally, the plan is to be run off in stages, the completion of each stage affording the necessary "confidence" for entering upon the next.

In 1946 when the Lilienthal committee formulated the original plan, America had a bomb-production monopoly which was expected to continue for a few years at least. Both the fact and the expectation had a considerable influence on the shape of the plan. Indeed, it seems unlikely that anything resembling the official plan would have evolved had there been no monopoly, or perhaps even if it had been anticipated that the monopoly would be broken in three and a half years. At any rate the monopoly concept explains the proviso as to stages, the principle of which had been foreshadowed in the Truman-Attlee-King statement of November 15, 1945. The Russians were in a sense to be put on probation. If they permitted a worldwide geological survey, their good conduct would earn them the right to participate in the next stage of the plan; if they adhered to their commitments in the second stage they would be permitted to enter the third—and so on. In other words, a kind of fraternal-lodge initiation involving a series of progressively more secret chambers, the candidate being admitted to each only after he had proved himself in the one preceding.

Several members of the Lilienthal committee agreed to this provision reluctantly, after persuasion by higher authority. The Russians, as might have been expected, rejected it off-hand. There is no need to review the earlier debates, for it is now altogether clear that the staging device has lost any justification it once may have had. In a compact between the US and Russia there can be no question of putting either on probation. Furthermore, since the Soviets know how to make bombs, we have lost the power to reward them with "secrets" as they demonstrate their good faith. Thus,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

one condition of the American plan is eliminated because events have demolished the premise on which it was based.

The proposal to abolish the veto may also be regarded as extinct. This was so obviously a blunder that our delegates to the UN are reluctant to be reminded of it. The veto provision was the single contribution to the official plan made by Bernard Baruch and the single most plausible target of Soviet attack. Lilienthal and Chester Barnard, as the latter has disclosed, begged Baruch not to introduce the veto problem in connection with his presentation of the plan, saying that it would give the Russians the opportunity to "dance up and down indefinitely"—which, of course, it has. The preservation of the veto and the preservation of the UN, as anyone with any experience in *Realpolitik* must know, are synonymous. Certain to be outvoted on every major issue, the Russians, if deprived of the veto, could be expected promptly to withdraw. It is clear also that in the sphere of atomic-energy control the veto is irrelevant since the detection of any serious violations of the control agreement would lead to immediate preparations for war. A nation convinced that such violations had been committed would not await the outcome of UN proceedings before taking steps to protect itself.

We come now to the heart of the plan. To what extent is the concept of international ownership of all atomic plants affected by present circumstances?

The proposal has undeniable appeal. At one stroke it eliminates national rivalries in the sphere of atomic weapons and advances the further possibility of internationalizing other armaments. Yet all UNAEC negotiations have foundered on this issue for reasons that are obvious. In the first place it is almost hopeless to reach understanding on the location of the proposed plants. To make a "strategic" distribution on the theory that equality would be preserved since, in the event of war, each nation could seize the plants within its own boundaries, is to convert the control system by a kind of left-handed logic into a blueprint for war mobilization.

The problem of national quotas for fissionable material, a twin to that of plant location, has never even been taken up in any detail by the UNAEC—this is true also of the control stages and their timing—on the ground that these are "political" questions which could not profitably be discussed until agreement had been reached on such matters as inspection and management. That the majority has taken this position on major substantive points, integral to the entire ownership provision, is proof enough of its despair of achieving a settlement in this field.

The Soviet government, it should be added, has insisted also that international ownership would entail an insupportable encroachment on national sovereignty. Whatever may have been true at the time when the official plan was first presented regarding the willingness of America to relinquish its sovereignty in certain important areas, it is doubtful that Congress, in its present temper, would readily permit American plants to be turned over to an international authority, or, for that matter, to accept raw-material and production quotas comparable to those assigned to Russia.

For these reasons the old proposals—the proposals President Truman has said America will stand on "unless or until a better and more effective plan is put forward"—now seem obsolete. We believe the President should create a new commission to search for alternative proposals. Meanwhile it may be that a reformulation of the original plan along the following main lines will provoke further discussion, and it is advanced with this limited objective in view.

1. Immediate cessation of large-scale production of fissionable materials and of the manufacture of atomic bombs.
2. Retention of existing stockpiles of fissionable material with the proviso that these shall be held in escrow by a UN commission, the escrow to terminate if the compact is violated. Each nation, it should be noted, is to keep physical possession of its stockpile, but under UN supervision.
3. Maintenance of nationally owned plants for the production of fissionables in small quantities, of no military significance yet adequate for research and for the development of peacetime uses of atomic energy.
4. A strict inspection system centered primarily on mining operations and designed to maintain established quotas, and a worldwide geological survey to discover major sources of uranium.
5. The compact to run for a limited period at the end of which negotiations are to be resumed for its extension and possible enlargement.

Under a system of this general character, it may be that a somewhat better balance of opposing national interests can be achieved without abandoning altogether the broader aim of international accord. The quarantining of national stockpiles under UN escrow would offer a certain moral as well as practical assurance against possible misuse; the arms race would be decelerated; the problem of infringing sovereignty would be partially circumvented and deferred; research in all phases of atomic energy could go forward.

Strong arguments can be made on behalf of an inspection system limited to the mines. It would provide an effective control of indispensable source materials; it would require a comparatively small staff; and it

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

would entail the minimum of interference with each nation's economy and defense setup.

One must recognize, to be sure, that a mine-inspection system is not altogether foolproof (nor, for that matter, is any inspection system). Yet there has been an abundance of competent opinion—more disinterested than that offered by the admirals—to the effect that a small number of atomic bombs cannot win a war. Enormous amounts of raw material are needed to make relatively small quantities of fissionables; and the secret diversion of such amounts under any moderately efficient mine-inspection scheme is almost unthinkable.

The thorniest of all questions is what to do about existing stockpiles. The escrow proposal is at best a stopgap. While Russia and the US are now more nearly on an equal footing, our stockpile is undoubtedly much larger than theirs. It is hard to imagine, therefore, that they would accept a proposal which merely freezes the status quo. However, it is equally hard to imagine that America would be prepared at present to destroy its own store of fissionables. At least it can be said that both sides are on notice, that radical compromises are necessary. A man who insists on drinking after he has been warned that drinking will kill him has made his decision.

The objection will be heard that the proposed arrangement is limited in scope, that it provides no final solution but at best only temporary relief. The answer is, "Of course, but what of it?" There are no final solutions in politics. We must rid ourselves of the notion of cold war; of the absurd catchphrases that obsess the mind and inhibit clear thinking; of the jingo jargon and self-righteous twaddle that pass for diplomacy. Though limited, the pact would be flexible; because flexible, it could be expanded; because it could be expanded, it might ultimately become comprehensive.

There remains the question of Russia's proposals for a convention outlawing the use of atomic bombs and perhaps other weapons of mass destruction as well. The American delegation has consistently scorned this suggestion and denounced it as a fraud. This was unwise and the matter deserves reconsideration. What the Soviets propose is a political treaty—the need for which has been curiously overlooked. The truth is that the Lilienthal plan, even with its weaker features removed, is handicapped by being essentially technical rather than political. It is a technical plan intended to achieve a political objective. And this is impossible.

One may think of this in yet another way. The thrust of the American plan is negative. Its principal features are *control, inspection, punishment.* It is designed to establish law and order in the uranium business by a policing system. But this is a false conception of what needs to be done. The law and order of a community are not created by its penal code, much less by its police department; the key is the peaceable disposition of the community's inhabitants, a disposition that less bespeaks brotherly love than a recognition of common interest. A lawless community cannot be reformed by the police, though undoubtedly in a community that subscribes to law, the police is useful as an instrument to enforce the community will.

And so among nations. An international treaty may require certain auxiliary devices to enforce its provisions and to give warning of secret violations. But the auxiliary devices come second to the basic political treaty, enunciating the objective. A political treaty is needed to outlaw the use of the weapon; a control system is needed to safeguard and enforce the covenants of the treaty. But the moral, political and psychological value of the treaty itself is incalculable.

Assuming the validity of this principle, is there any justification, it will be asked, for believing the Russians would adhere to a treaty after they had signed it? Essentially the question is pointless. In the first place, one may hope the treaty would not stand alone; that it would be complemented by a control system resembling the one outlined above. Second, even brigands can make a viable agreement provided it embodies a common purpose. Self-interest—that is to say, mutual and reciprocal self-interest—motivates all international agreements whether relating to tariffs, trade, postage stamps or defense. It is important to understand that faith in the lexicon of diplomacy means confidence born of reciprocal needs and common aims. There is reason to believe that Russia needs peace now as we need it, and that she will therefore join in the effort to achieve it. Our one present hope for peace is that out of this short-range need, long-range objectives of world peace may evolve. On this assumption, a treaty that tends to promote peace *now* by outlawing the weapon whose very existence most endangers peace, can be expected to endure as long as both nations hold peace as a common aim. No technical control plan would endure any longer.

What is important in this approach is less what is attained than what is sincerely sought. We must make a continuous approach to the goal of peace. Peace is something to be fought for year after year: it cannot be quickly found, cheaply bought, or easily held.

"The best public measures," wrote Franklin, "are seldom adopted from previous wisdom but forced by the occasion." The occasion may still force the world to find a formula for survival.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

SPLIT IN THE CIO

CLEVELAND (NR correspondent)

On the eve of the CIO convention in Cleveland which started last Monday, it was quite clear that at least four of the Communist-led unions were to be expelled. At the last minute, the Communists had decided to change their tactics and try to stay in. One by one, their leaders came to President Phil Murray and tried to persuade him that they should be retained. "This is no time," they said, "for unions to be fighting each other. We should be standing together to fight Wall Street." To which Murray replied, in effect, "You talk just the way Wall Street does."

Knowing that he had an ample majority on his side (the Communist-led faction is at most not more than 10 percent of the total), he insisted that the matter was not for him to decide but, under the CIO constitution, for the convention as a whole. His own views were expressed in the statement:

> With less than 10 percent of our total [the left-wing unions] have come to look upon their affiliation with the CIO as a matter for their personal exploitation. They reject our basic policy; they flout the wishes of the majority; they obstruct our legislative and economic progress. No self-respecting organization can long tolerate this dangerous division. . . . The majority has the inherent right to protect its course of action and its future stability.

While Murray talked in lofty terms of principle, the action the CIO was expected to take was an opportunistic one. Only four of the eleven Communist-led unions are slated to go at this time: the United Electrical Workers, the Farm Equipment Workers (which has been trying to amalgamate with the UE), the Food and Tobacco Workers, and the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. Many of the right-wing members of the last two unions have already seceded. The other Communist-led unions, like Bridges' Longshoremen, are considered too tough to be tackled at this time; the CIO does not want to expel any union unless there is a good chance that a strong, competitive right-wing group can be formed. However, the constitution is slated to be changed so that the executive board can throw out any union in the future. There is also the possibility, of course, that the other seven left-wing unions may secede under their own power.

The fight which starts this week will be long, bitter and costly. The UE, for example, will split down the middle; about 150,000 will stay with the CIO and 200,000 will leave. The union has been preparing for two years to get out or be thrown out; its new contracts do not mention the CIO. Many of them, including some of the biggest, run for several years longer. The UE locals have a great deal of autonomy; money is kept in the local treasuries, scattered around the country, and the contracts are written on a local basis. As the new right-wing groups are formed, there will be a struggle to see who gets possession of the existing contracts, the money in the local treasuries and the membership lists. It is safe to predict that both sides will go into court in a score of cities and great sums are likely to be poured out in lawyers' fees and other expenses. The Communists may bankrupt themselves, but the CIO will lose a lot of money, too.

Among the tough jobs will be the effort to organize the new right-wing group among the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. They are scattered through the Western mountain regions where the tradition of radicalism has always been strong. A lot of heads will be broken, among the organizers who go in for the CIO.

The chief victims of the split will be the unorganized workers throughout the country. With this fight on its hands, the CIO will ease off on its organizing drive, for a long time to come. As usual, those who will be penalized the worst will be those who need union protection the most.

SCHISM ON THE LEFT

When Trotsky broke with Stalin and fled into exile he took with him the allegiance of many thousands of Communists all over the world. Now Tito appears to be doing the same thing. A surprising number of British and American Communists and fellow travelers have recently turned up in Belgrade and said something nice about the Yugoslav dictator, although well aware that henceforth they are estopped from ever again going to Moscow and saying something nice about Stalin.

The new split has quite possibly been one of the things encouraging the non-Communists in such organizations as the Progressive Party, in the US, to break with the CP line; we have already recorded several bits of evidence that this is happening. Henry Wallace's speech last week in Madison Square Garden, New York, made the comrades visibly unhappy. Although he was theoretically supporting Vito Marcantonio, candidate for Mayor and faithful party-liner, he criticized Russia as well as the US for "needless acts of provocation," argued against "taking sides on the Yugoslav situation" at this time, and singled out Russia and Czechoslovakia, along with Yugoslavia, for criticism because of "recent activities" which "have not helped the world toward peace." From anybody else than Wallace, these words would have been denounced by the Communist press as "treasonable"; and the efforts to find a way to approve them resulted in some of the funniest acrobatics of the week. The CP writers explained that Wallace was certainly correct in asking for suspended judgment on Yugoslavia, and ignored practically everything else he said.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AFTER DEVALUATION

Juggling the currency is not an automatic device for curing a country's economic troubles. The late President Roosevelt found this out when he tried unsuccessfully to raise prices in the middle of the depression by changing the gold value of the dollar. The British Labour Government is now learning the same lesson.

Seven weeks after the devaluation of the pound, nothing much has happened to improve Britain's ugly situation. The sale of goods in the United States has gone up somewhat, but not enough to make any real impression on the dollar deficit. Some British internal prices are also going up slightly, as must be expected in a country which buys much of its food and raw materials overseas from hard-currency areas. Labor is getting restive and may soon demand wage increases which will accelerate the inflationary cycle. The dollar reserves are down to $1.4 billion and the annual dollar deficit has been running at about $2.6 billion per year.

In the face of this situation, Attlee has announced a cut in the budget of only eight percent, or $784 million, including $98 million off housing, and $308 million off subsidies on fish and on feed for animals. Patients must now pay 14 cents for prescriptions, and children's school meals will cost the government about 15 percent less. Military expenditures will go down by $90 million.

Most of the British press thinks these economies are totally inadequate to meet Britain's plight. Says the liberal Manchester *Guardian*, "Britain and the sterling area are running straight and fast to bankruptcy." The press in general demands savings twice as great as are planned, and economies whose effect will be felt now, not 18 months or two years hence. They say there should be a reduction in the rate of release of sterling balances to Egypt and India (which in plain English means slowing down the rate at which Britain is paying off her war debt in manufactured goods). These critics also point out that already, new increases in government expenditures partially offset the promised savings.

There has been sharp disagreement inside the Cabinet as to the date of the general election, which must be held not later than next July and can be held whenever the government chooses. Attlee wanted to postpone it; several of his colleagues wanted to hold it at once, on the ground that the government is losing popularity and time is against the Labour Party. Attlee has won, but it remains to be seen whether he was right. Last week's expected defeat of the motion of no confidence, 353 to 222, is of little significance in terms of this larger problem. Quite possibly Attlee may be wrong; the government may be losing ground because it lacks the courage to call for the even greater austerity which the crisis demands.

IN AUSTRALIA, TOO

SYDNEY (NR correspondent)

An Australian Communist has just been sentenced to three years' hard labor. He is L. L. Sharkey, general secretary of the Australian Communist Party, and he was sentenced for having said:

> If Soviet forces in pursuit of aggressors entered Australia, Australian workers would welcome them.

SHADOW OF FEAR

A year ago the American Civil Liberties Union, surveying the American scene, thought that the situation in its special field of interest was fairly good. But this is no longer true. Today the ACLU, the organization which opposes the principles of Communism but fights for the civil rights of Communists and of everybody else, titles its annual report "In the Shadow of Fear," and begins by saying:

> The imagined insecurity of the strongest democracy in the world in the face of the cold war with Communism has created an atmosphere in which fear makes the maintenance of civil liberties precarious. Not only the liberties of real or suspected Communists are at stake. Far beyond them, the measures to protect our institutions from Communist infiltration have set up an unprecedented array of barriers to free association, of forced declarations of loyalty, of blacklists and purges, and, most menacing to the spirit of liberty, of taboos on those progressive programs and principles which are the heart of any expanding democracy.

The ACLU proceeds to list some familiar items. Congress has made no progress with the President's program of civil liberties. It has again okayed the Taft-Hartley Act. Communists are being dismissed from college faculties. Witch hunts continue among federal and state employees. Deportations for political reasons are increasing. Entrance is refused to more and more aliens, even those seeking to come to this country to attend scientific or cultural conferences. Military influence on government is expanding. In Japan and Germany we tend to work with ultraconservative groups. The Attorney General's list of 160 subversive organizations has been "grossly misused to stimulate the search for heretics." The functions of the FBI have been expanded, "risking for the first time in our history the creation of a secret political police system with its array of informers and undercover agents."

The ACLU has some offsetting items: Race equality continues to inch along. Labor is fighting hard for its civil rights. There have been some excellent court decisions. The UN is beginning to talk about a worldwide Bill of Rights and universal freedom of communication. Yet on balance, the situation is bad. "The present," says the report, "exceeds in its severity, intolerance and fears, any such period in the Union's 29 years of activity; and the dangers of enduring damage are therefore the greater, as well as the obligation to combat them."

STUDY OF MONOPOLY POWER

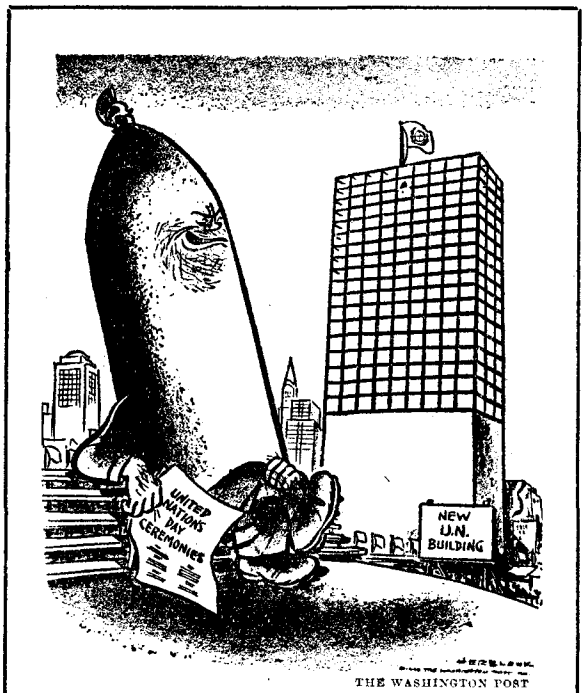
Although most of the corridors of the Capitol are quiet now that Congress has adjourned, there is a din of activity in one committee room. Representative Emanuel Celler (D, N.Y.) has reopened hearings on economic concentration. His Subcommittee on

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Study of Monopoly Power promises to be one of the most intensive investigations into the anti-trust laws since the Temporary National Economic Committee's sensational hearings during 1938-40.

Last July and August the committee held several weeks of hearings to acquire general background. Celler opened the second series of hearings last week with one purpose: to study all aspects of economic concentration in preparation for specific legislation to be introduced next year. The hearings will give big business a chance to put opinions in the record with little cross-examination. Among the businessmen scheduled to appear are Charles E. Wilson, of General Electric; Lever Brothers president Charles Luckman; Cyrus Eaton, head of Otis and Company, and Emil Schram, president of the New York Stock Exchange. These and many other witnesses will be questioned on such controversial subjects as higher fines for violating the anti-trust laws, altering the tax laws to limit or prevent industrial concentration, the relation of bigness to efficiency and to the crises that lead to government intervention.

At the same time, the committee will review the anti-trust laws and seek ways to strengthen them. Special consideration will be given the Webb-Pomerene Act, which allows industrial concerns to form export associations that are exempt from certain price-fixing prohibitions of the anti-trust laws, and the Reed-Bulwinkle Act, permitting railroads to fix freight rates. Whether to repeal or amend these two laws and other acts exempting certain fields from anti-trust prosecution will be decided on the basis of the subcommittee's findings.



"It better be good."

PROPAGANDA AGAINST TVA

The propaganda campaign of the private power interests against the Tennessee Valley Authority goes steadily forward. The power trust does not like the TVA for several reasons, chief of them the fact that because it is a yardstick for the cost of electric power, private rates have been forced down in adjacent areas since the TVA went into operation.

One of the latest and most unfair of these attacks appears in a recent issue of *P. G. and E. Progress*, published by the Pacific Gas and Electric Company of California, reprinted from the *Commonwealth-Reporter* of Fond du Lac, Wisconsin. The article ridicules the TVA claim that because of improved navigation on the Tennessee River, $2.8 million per year has been saved for shippers. The attack says, on the contrary, that "it probably cost more than $7 million" to save that $2.8 million. This figure is arrived at by adding together the cost of the navigation operation, $2.7 million, interest at 2.5 percent on the $150 million invested, amounting to $3.75 million, and the expenses of the Coast Guard and Army Engineers in operating the lock and signal equipment, which is put in at a rough $1 million.

But these figures, taken by themselves, are misleading. Here are some of the counterbalancing facts to be taken into consideration:

¶ Maximum traffic on the Tennessee River is still years away. Careful studies indicate that this traffic will finally be at least seven million tons, with an annual saving to shippers of $9 million.

¶ The TVA figure of a saving of $2.8 million referred to 1947. In 1948, traffic was 24 percent larger, and the saving to shippers in that year was enough to cover all the navigation expenses of the TVA, the Army Engineers and the Coast Guard, including depreciation.

¶ The TVA does not include in its report the cost of operation of the Coast Guard and Army Engineers, but it did take them into account in arriving at the figure which was given. These expenses were estimated by the TVA at $900,000, although they were actually not much more than half that amount.

¶ A saving of $9 million will more than cover not only what the government actually pays in interest on the investment, which is two percent, but the 2.5 percent mentioned by the Fond du Lac *Commonwealth-Reporter*.

¶ Actually, making the Tennessee River fully navigable has resulted in very large profits beyond the saving to the shippers. Businessmen in the area now have bigger markets and wider sources of raw materials. The barge lines earn money, and so do rail and truck carriers bringing goods to the barges. The river development has produced a great recreation industry, one part of which, boat building, has resulted in an expenditure of more than $6 million.

The TVA is certainly not perfect. Some criticism of its operations is justified and useful. It is regrettable that, almost always, the hostile propaganda of the power industry turns out to be unsound.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CATHOLICISM IN THE WORLD CRISIS

by Percy Winner

DURING THE COMING Christmas season a Jubilee of the Roman Catholic Church will begin. All of 1950 will be a Jubilee, or Holy Year. Very large numbers of faithful communicants of the Church of Rome will during that year make penitential pilgrimages to the Eternal City from all parts of the world. Millions of men and women will visit the basilicas of St. Peter, St. John Lateran, St. Mary Major, St. Paul-beyond-the-Walls and other holy places. And they will thereby earn for themselves the Indulgence of the Jubilee—a remission of temporal penalties due to sin.

The Jubilee celebration is a development of the ancient and primitive custom of making pilgrimages to the burial places of the Apostles in order to gain spiritual benefits. In modern times it has been held every quarter of a century, but originally it took place every century. The first Jubilee was proclaimed in the year 1300 by Pope Boniface VIII, who assured "all who, being truly penitent, visit these basilicas in this present year and in each succeeding hundredth year not only a full and copious, but the most full pardon of their sins."

Naturally, therefore, the religious and spiritual significance of a Holy Year for faithful communicants of the Roman Catholic Church can scarcely be exaggerated. Few events in the Church's calendar of observances related to the role of the Pope as the successor to St. Peter's universal spiritual mission have greater religious meaning. The millions of men and women, who at one time or another during the year will stand under the cupola in the basilica of St. Peter and gaze up at the words "*Tu es Petrus*" marked out in huge letters around the inner circumference of the Bramante dome, will in their spirits be in the presence of the scriptural "*Hoc est enim Corpus meum.*"

This religious meaning of the Jubilee, great as it is to Catholics, is not, however, its only source of importance. The year-long observance will have significance to men and women of all faiths in all lands, for its implications have both political and economic aspects, and therefore a quite direct relationship to the role of the Church of Rome in the play of forces in the world of material values.

The coming Jubilee is the first since the creation of the Italian nation that finds the See of St. Peter in the position of a temporal power welcoming millions of guests from all over the world to the sovereign Vatican State. The Pope, in addition to being the Bishop of Rome, the successor of St. Peter and the head of the Church, is a worldly ruler to whom 35 ambassadors are personally accredited—and in all cases they are men of far greater diplomatic standing than their colleagues accredited to President Einaudi of the Italian Republic in whose territory Vatican City is a tiny geographical enclave.

This temporal situation has its remote origin in the eighth century when Pope Gregory II obtained from the Lombards the city of Sutri. Its restoration, however, was accomplished only during the present generation.

When Pope Pius XI acted as host to the faithful who came to Rome for the Jubilee of 1925 the so-called "Roman question"—the relation of the Church to the Italian state—had not yet been solved. The Pope was still the "prisoner in the Vatican" which his predecessors, Leo XIII, Pius X, Benedict XV, had elected to remain since soldiers of the new Italian state breached the Pius Gate on September 20, 1870, and made the city of Rome the capital of an Italian nation. The temporal power of the Church was restored when the Jesuit Father Tacchi-Venturi's long and patient efforts at reconciliation were crowned by success of the Treaty of the Lateran signed on February 11, 1929, by Benito Mussolini and Cardinal Gasparri, the Vatican's Secretary of State. Even then, however, and during the next dozen years neither the Pope's power nor his state's sovereignty had much political meaning.

But in 1950 Pope Pius XII is a great political figure as well as a great spiritual leader and moral preceptor. Even non-Catholics recognize that Vatican City ranks with Washington and Moscow on the very highest level of political power. Part of this change can be explained by the personality of the incumbent of the Throne of St. Peter: the Pope, now his own Secretary of State, has had longer and more intensive training in practical politics than had any of his predecessors for centuries; and his innate gifts in diplomacy and statesmanship were recognized long before he was elected to the papacy on the eve of World War II—indeed it was these gifts and this unusual experience that made him the logical choice of the College of Cardinals at a time of deepening crisis.

A second factor has been the crumbling of old

Percy Winner, the foreign-affairs editor of the New Republic, has been living in Rome for several months. This is the first of a series. His next article will discuss the Church's present crisis in the context of comparable past struggles.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

established sources of power during and after the war —the collapse of German hegemony, the removal of the Italian monarchy, the disintegration of France, the decline of Britain—and the rise of Soviet Russia as an aggressive challenger of the new supremacy of the United States. As the Cold War between West and East intensified, the Vatican has openly taken part in it, forging to the very forefront of the political struggle of the Atlantic powers against the Soviet Union and its satellites.

Throughout the centuries the Church has maintained, through its bishops, close contact with political affairs over the world, taking care thereby of the interests of its spiritual mission; but in the last few years the network of ecclesiastical agencies of the Church has also become a political intelligence service of incalculable value to the Pope in his role as a temporal ruler. There has never been a time since the French Revolution when the Church has been better informed; nor has there been a time when the Church has had more effective means of exerting its influence in all parts of the globe—and used them with all the skills of the most modern technology.

During the present papacy, the ancient institution on the bank of the Tiber has had the benefits of the pontiff's open-mindedness to modernization. While even under Pope Pius XI the College of the Propagation of the Faith was still geared to methods of the last century, present methods of that and other agencies for carrying out the Church's mission—the religious orders, for example—have become those of the American twentieth century. Vatican Radio, staffed principally by members of the Jesuit Order, uses the air waves to fight Moscow Radio; and even the millions behind the Iron Curtain who do not (or cannot) listen to the messages of Vatican City heed what Moscow has to say in reply.

In the domestic political affairs of many nations the Church also is now active—always of course in the service of what it conceives to be its own mission. The "social doctrine" of the Church is fought for openly by Catholic prelates and laymen in dozens of countries. Not only in the classic province of religious interest —education—but also in such fields as labor and social legislation, the various national hierarchies of the Church have much to say, and say it without hesitancy.

In Spain, Portugal and a number of Latin American countries, the Church has direct links with statesmen and governments; political steps are not taken before consultation with the hierarchies; and through these hierarchies the Secretariat of State in Vatican City also takes the initiative at times in political affairs of concern to the Holy See.

In the United States, the views of prelates of the Church carry weight with large numbers of Catholic voters; and at a time when the Church considers itself threatened by some political currents these views often are openly and vigorously expressed.

In other countries, pastoral letters are issued to put the full weight of religious authority behind certain political parties—Austria is a case in point, as were Italy, France, Belgium and Western Germany during the last two years. And of course the Church is embattled as seldom before in its long history against the Moscow-directed efforts in the Soviet satellite countries to transform the various national churches into political dependencies of the state power.

It is, however, in Western Europe that the Church has made its greatest recovery of political influence since the post-Revolutionary French National Assembly adopted in 1790 the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. To begin with, the Church in recent years has been reasserting, far more than in the previous several generations, the paramountcy of the Vatican's central authority as against the derived authority of such peripheral institutional expressions of Catholic Christendom as the national hierarchies. Within the Church itself, especially in Western Europe, ultramontanism—the principle of the direct absolute authority of Rome —has gradually pushed back the limits of Gallicanism —the opposite principle by which various national hierarchies, especially that of France, have sought a degree of relative independence. Not only have faithful Catholic laymen come to political power in their various countries but they have tended to be men who looked directly to the See of St. Peter for their political inspiration and in some cases instruction.

Moreover, the order which more than any other accepts the authority of the Vatican—the Society of Jesus—has recently been in the ascendant, and the order which has been associated in modern times with currents of Catholic liberalism—the Dominicans—has been losing influence.

The head of the present Italian government, Alcide de Gasperi, was once a functionary of the Vatican. The dominant Christian Democratic Party is closely associated with the Vatican's Secretariat of State, especially

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the two Undersecretaries, Monsignors Montini and Tardini; and through the Italian government the Vatican has an additional and important channel of political contact with other governments. A small recent event is typical of the present Italian government's attitude toward the Church: the anniversary of the capture of Rome from the Vatican armed forces in September, 1870—one of the great dates in the Italian political calendar—was not officially observed this year.

In Belgium, Austria and Western Germany similar clerical parties are in control of the government; in France the Popular Republican Movement, a party with clerical orientations, is an important part of the government coalition.

And in other countries as well, the Church is directly using political power in support of its claim to a *unique* right to evangelize the world. The Roman Catholic Church, according to Count Giuseppe Dalla Torre, editor of the Vatican's official *Osservatore Romano*, believes that it alone "is a faith that carries a civilization: the Christian civilization." He says that "Whenever a state, *putting the Catholic Church in the same category as other denominations* . . . refuses to recognize a superior spiritual authority because it is outside of its jurisdiction, it not only hinders the freedom of the Catholic Church but denies its organic structure." In defense of this uniqueness, the Church demands not only freedom of worship but a "religious freedom" that protects legally and politically its own "divine mandate" to evangelize the world. The practical significance of this position was seen recently in Costa Rica. When the Constituent Assembly approved an article of the new constitution, reading "Education is an essential function of the state," Archbishop Victor Sambria of San José declared (according to the *Osservatore Romano*) "that all the priests of the country, without any regard for the decision of the legislature, will continue to teach that the education of the young is an essential function not of the state but of the family."

The foregoing survey merely scratches the surface of the great body of evidence of the remarkable recovery of political influence by the Church. And it is not irrelevant at the start of a survey of the historical sources and development of such influence to point out that Pope Boniface VIII who initiated the celebrations of the Jubilee, or Holy Year, was the author of the famous bull *Unam Sanctam*, which is considered by historians to be the most absolute proclamation of theocratic doctrine ever formulated in the Middle Ages. He was one of a series of great churchmen who, beginning as early as the fifth century, interpreted the Church's universal spiritual mission as necessarily implying great temporal power. But against him and popes like Gregory VII, who in the letter *Quod ad perferendos*, in the eleventh century, declared the Church's absolute sovereignty in the secular sphere, there were great churchmen—Pope Gelasius I, Cardinal Peter Damian and St. Thomas Aquinas—who inspired the modern view of the Church as an institution rooted exclusively in the spiritual power, and exercizing the political only indirectly and circumspectly.

Perhaps the greatest importance of the Jubilee of 1950 will be the effect it may have on the future orientations of an institution which was already old and great when some of the present expressions of temporal political power were not yet even imagined.

THE OPPORTUNITY IN BERLIN

by James Loeb Jr.

WITHIN THE PAST FEW WEEKS, the good will of the inhabitants of West Berlin (the Allied zone) has suddenly become important again to Britain, France and the US. This is because of the tug of war between Russia and the Allies.

When we set up an independent government for Western Germany, Russia responded with a government of her own which claims jurisdiction over the whole country, though of course its writ runs at present only in the Soviet zone. The implicit promise that Germany may again one day be reunited makes a strong appeal to all the inhabitants of that partitioned country—or would, if it came from any other source. For Berliners, who are promised a reunited city which would once more be the capital of all Germany, the attraction is particularly strong. So the Allies, as the newspaper correspondents tell us, have suddenly begun to ponder what they can do to keep West Berlin firmly on our side.

It was high time that this should happen. The Allied policy toward Berlin in recent months has been a series of blunders. It has in no way repaid the people of the city for the extremely serious risks they have run in supporting the Allies throughout the airlift, and in their great public demonstrations against Russia—

James Loeb Jr. is executive secretary of Americans for Democratic Action. He recently returned from an extensive trip through Europe, which included a visit to Germany.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

demonstrations which would cost them dear if the Allies should ever do what they have seemed sometimes to be considering—pull out and leave Berlin to its fate.

The Russian blockade, even though it was thwarted by the airlift, was severely damaging. The few stocks of raw materials available to industry were soon exhausted; it was impossible to replenish them or to carry on normal trade with Western Germany. Consequently there grew up in the Allied section of the country duplicate manufacturing plants which could more easily supply its markets. Now that the blockade is over, Berlin's industries find it hard to regain their former markets. Furthermore, the insecurity of Berlin's position, with the Russian noose always ready to be drawn tight again, discourages new investments. Complex monetary relations are also a damaging factor. West Berliners can do much better by changing their money on the black market and buying in the Russian zone, which cripples the retail trade of the Western section.

In the past year unemployment has grown from 50,000 to more than 200,000—in a city with a working population of just over 800,000. The unemployed, pensioners, and the families of these groups constitute half the total population—and they pay no taxes. The Allies complain that West Berlin's city government is overstaffed and too costly; but if officials are dismissed, the rolls of the unemployed will go up correspondingly, with little saving.

Recognizing Berlin's serious situation, the government of West Germany is coming to her aid. An amount of $60 million has been earmarked for loans to build houses and expand small business. Bank depositors, whose accounts had been canceled by the Russians, will get five percent of their money. Taxes will be reduced and red tape cut to speed up business. The Bonn government will guarantee traders in West Germany against loss on transactions with the Allied zone of Berlin.

West Berlin's political situation is as bad as her economic one, and here the responsibility of the Allies is clear. When the Bonn Constitution was written, West Berlin, by unanimous vote of the German delegates, was made the twelfth *Land*, or state. The Allies refused to permit this, although they did allow eight delegates to be present at Bonn without a vote. The West Berliners, for no reason that anyone can discover, were not even permitted to elect these eight voteless delegates, who are appointed by the Municipal Council. On a population basis, West Berlin should have had twenty delegates, and nearly all of them would have been Social Democrats. If this had been done, the new West German parliament would have been dominated by the Social Democrats as the strongest single party, instead of by the rightist Christian Democratic Union, whose rise to power shocked and dismayed the whole Western world.

Over everyone in West Berlin except the small Communist minority hangs the chilling fear that the Allies may, as suggested above, pull out and leave them to the merciless reprisals of the Russians. Their worries were augmented by the fact that the enormous machinery of the High Commission (formerly Military Government) has now been moved from Berlin to Frankfurt. There were good reasons for this move; but there was no good reason why we should not have explained clearly and fully to the Berliners that we were not just "pulling out," that in fact we have left behind in Berlin much more than a token force. The situation has been helped some, but not much, by the decision in August that West Berlin will get Marshall Plan aid. The Berliners fear that France is dominating the Allies in regard to their future fate; the French, at least until a few weeks ago, were known to want Berlin to become a third-rate city—for prestige reasons!

Why did the Allies refuse to permit West Berlin to become the twelfth state of West Germany? There is an uneasy suspicion among the Germans that we are still thinking of some sort of deal with the Russians which would bring West Berlin into the Soviet zone; this would of course be much more difficult if the city had equal representation in the Bonn government. In fact, the official Allied explanation hints that this might be the case. The Allies say all Germany is still under quadripartite control, by formal agreement; unilateral permanent division would incite the Russians to renewed and additional aggression; and that it is better to wait for the unification of Berlin—and of all Germany—some day. There are plenty of good answers to these arguments, but the Allies have the final word, which is, the power to do as they please. As a stop-gap, however, the Berliners will enact legislation paralleling the Bonn Constitution, to make final amalgamation easier.

Yet it is still true that we are throwing away a golden opportunity. The elections in Russia's Germany, with their display of increasing restlessness, show that the Soviets are neither infallible nor all-powerful. Their area is more and more a political and economic liability. Berlin can be a vital center of democratic strength, in terms of information, propaganda, continuous direct contact and prestige. But left to despair, isolated and forgotten, it can represent a single battle won but a campaign lost.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE ANIMAL OR THE CHILD?

by Bruce Bliven

THE CHILD had been born a "blue baby," in need of immediate and drastic measures if its life was to be saved. It was rushed from the delivery room to a hospital operating table, where a distinguished surgeon prepared to perform the delicate and difficult operation by which the flow of arterial and venous blood through the heart is disentangled so that the organ can perform its proper work. The frantic father of the baby, properly gowned and masked, was allowed to enter the room and watch the operation. But as it began, he held up a warning hand.

"Just a minute," he said in peremptory tones. "Was the experimental work which made this new operation possible performed with the use of animal subjects?"

"Yes, it was," said the surgeon.

"In that case," said the father sternly, "I don't want the operation performed. I do not wish to condone such experimentation in any way."

The foregoing incident, I am glad to say, never took place. I made it up out of whole cloth. Yet it is so close to the truth as to make your hair stand on end. Hundreds of people opposed to the use of animals in medical research have said that they want this use stopped *even at the cost of human life*, and are campaigning for laws to this end. The Philadelphia *Bulletin* on July 10, 1949, published the results of a survey among anti-vivisectionists in Philadelphia. Four out of five who were parents said firmly that they would not sacrifice a dog to save the life of a child. Among those who were not parents, the proportion was even higher. The kindest thing that can be said about such people is that it was a hypothetical question, they were thinking of the general principle, and that all cranks and fanatics make extreme statements in the heat of controversy.

The grim, disturbing truth is that this particular bunch of fanatics is already doing great harm, and is likely to do even more. In many parts of the United States, important medical research is being hindered by a shortage of experimental animals directly attributable to the activities of this group. The University of Wisconsin Medical School stopped research on the problem I have already mentioned—blue babies—for this reason. The Howard University Medical School has been forced to suspend its research activities because obstacles to obtaining experimental animals in Washington, D. C.—obstacles created by anti-vivisectionists—have driven the price up to prohibitive levels.

Seven states have laws hampering animal experimentation in varying degrees, most of them passed within the last decade. Similar bills are constantly introduced; last winter saw fights over such measures in Congress and in the states of California and Wisconsin.

Research experts have been subjected to all sorts of abuse because of their occupation. They have received letters and telephone calls threatening to "get" them. Laboratories have been broken into, apparatus smashed and records covering long periods of work destroyed. In Los Angeles, on two occasions, shots were fired through the windows of the home of a medical-research expert whose name and official position had been publicized in the newspapers. On each occasion the bullet missed by inches one of the members of the family, sitting in the living room.

All this is true in spite of the fact that modern medicine, with its wonderful record of pain alleviated and lives saved, is founded upon such animal experimentation. Because of it we have had our progress in regard to diabetes, rickets, pernicious anemia, pellagra, cardiovascular disease, gallstones, kidney disease, infantile paralysis, cancer, and many other diseases. Without it we should never have had insulin, anesthesia, blood transfusions, or the antibiotics, such as penicillin and streptomycin.

At least 50 million people are alive today who would have been dead were it not for the results of animal experimentation; of diabetics alone there are 17 million. Of the 600 drugs in the pharmacopoeia, nearly one-half have come from such work. It has helped to produce the amazing new drugs, cortisone and ACTH, which promise to relieve or cure rheumatoid arthritis, rheumatic fever, myasthenia gravis, gout and a long list of other diseases.

Those who oppose animal experimentation call themselves anti-vivisectionists, a word which itself reflects their profound ignorance, conjuring up pictures of animals being cut up while alive and conscious. This concept is completely false. Most animals used in experimental laboratories are not subjected to operations at all. They are used in nutrition experiments, or to test reactions to various substances taken into the body. Animals in laboratories are better fed, and given better care in every way, than are pets in people's homes: their scientific usefulness would be destroyed if they were not in the best of health.

In the rare instances when surgery is performed on animals, they are anesthetized in advance, just as are

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

human beings undergoing surgery in a hospital; if animal experimentation is barbarous and ought to be abolished, so should operations on people. Not once in a hundred thousand times is this rule violated, and then only if it is absolutely necessary. The ignorant cranks who make up the bulk of the crusade against scientific experiments with animals have a mental picture, which they constantly describe in public, of sadistic doctors gleefully torturing animals and licking their lips over the resulting agony; this picture is totally wrong. The men and women engaged in scientific research are just as tender-hearted as anyone else, just as fond of their pets. Since they have given their lives to the effort to alleviate all suffering, whether among animals or human beings, one might well argue that they are more tender-hearted than their opponents, practically none of whom has had any scientific training.

Practising veterinarians are almost always fond of animals; this is often the characteristic which has caused them to go into this line of work. Every important national organization of practitioners of veterinary medicine has endorsed animal experimentation. So have the American Red Cross, the Public Health Association, the National Science Teachers' Association, the National Research Council, the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis and scores of other groups.

Since all this is true, you may well be asking why the so-called anti-vivisectionists have made such strides recently. For this there are several reasons.

One is that the followers of this weird campaign are extremely careless of the truth. They are able to impress members of state legislatures and some newspaper editors, most of whom are without specific information with which to answer the fantastic charges. They say, for example, that both Great Britain and Mexico forbid animal experimentation, which is not true. They mention various diseases for which cures have been found without the use of animal experimentation, and their statements are false as regards these diseases.

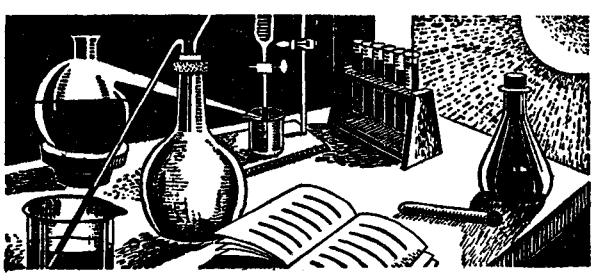
Running an anti-vivisection society is frequently something of a racket; annual dues are collected, gullible people make substantial donations, and an office staff gets a living. Propaganda is distributed, highly inaccurate and sensational in character; meetings are held; speakers are sent around the circuit, and so on. Incidentally, anti-Semitism is sometimes to be detected in the activities of these groups, presumably on the false notion, borrowed from Hitler, that Jewish research workers specialize in animal experimentation.

The greatest single aid to the campaign against medical science, however, is William Randolph Hearst, 86-year-old millionaire publisher. (It is ironical that Hearst's own physician has done distinguished work on problems of the heart by means of animal experimentation.) What got Hearst started, no one seems to know; his friend, Miss Marion Davies, is a leader in the crusade, of which another outstanding figure is the former Irene Castle, the ballroom dancer.

One of the Hearst newspapers which has been particularly violent in this campaign is the Chicago *Herald American*, which is now being sued for libel by five individuals for a total of $3.1 million. Dr. Virgil Moon, for example, was quoted by the *Herald American* as being opposed to animal experimentation, although on the contrary he himself has used animals in research which has benefited many thousands of war veterans, victims of battlefield shock. In 40 years' experience, Dr. Moon has said, he never saw an animal used cruelly in any experimental laboratory.

Dr. Moon and the other individuals who are suing the *Herald American* are being aided by the National Society for Medical Research, whose president is the distinguished physiologist of the University of Chicago, Dr. Anton J. Carlson. This society has been set up with the support of scientists and medical men everywhere to fight the rising tide of ignorance and anti-science.

The anomalous situation is that while research laboratories are being crippled by a shortage of experimental animals, a shortage for which the anti-vivisectionists are in large part responsible, a million stray animals, most of them dogs, are being put to death every year in city pounds all over the country. Though the anti-vivisectionists pay no attention to the matter, these mass executions are often accompanied by a good deal of cruelty. One-twenty-fifth of this number of animals would fill the needs of all the nation's experimental laboratories; in that case the animals would have the best of care and food, and many would live their full normal span. Thanks largely to the efforts of the National Society for Medical Research, a movement is now on foot to turn over unclaimed animals from the city pound to research laboratories. Laws to permit this have been passed in two states, Minnesota and Wisconsin, and similar bills have been introduced in other state legislatures and the District of Columbia.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HAROLD L. ICKES: *Navy Hits Below the Belt*

IRRESPONSIBLE ADMIRALS of the US Navy could hardly have put on a more outrageous spectacle than the recent public hearing before the Armed Services Committee. Chairman Vinson of Georgia appeared to be willing to assume the sole responsibility of running the armed services. At the same time, he was cheerleader and sideline coach, calling signals for the Navy team, while growling if anyone dared to criticize the Navy Brass. In his eyes, the Navy could do no wrong.

Chairman Vinson made it possible for the disgruntled admirals to do their caterwauling in public. This man has been so subservient to the Navy for so many years that only a whisper, say from Admiral Denfeld, would have made him decide that filthy linen should be washed in private. The hearing was a disgusting spectacle of clothesline fishwifery. Just as the Navy, intent on shore leave, was largely responsible for the disaster at Pearl Harbor, so is it blameworthy for the moral disaster at the "Pearl Harbor" over which Chairman Vinson presided. It was not pleasant for the ordinary citizen to hear ranking admirals shout, "You're another," to those other sounders in brass, the generals. But, so far as the Army is concerned, it must be said that its witnesses exercised a high degree of self-restraint, under outrageous provocation—a provocation so great that it is not to be wondered at that General Bradley sharply counterattacked. It was to his credit and the enhancement of his reputation as a straight-shooting American that he jarred the Navy chin that had truculently projected itself almost to the point of dislocation.

The Navy's idea of avoiding a lessening role in the armed forces of the country was to subordinate new discoveries of science to tradition. It indulged in voodooism of a crude sort. It was as if cavalrymen should insist on discarding mechanized artillery in order to dash into battle booted and spurred. According to the Navy, we must not look upward, but backward. We must not unify and democratize our soldiers, sailors and airmen; we must perpetuate and strengthen the caste system that has been particularly prevalent in the Navy. Why concern ourselves about an offensive or defensive war in which airplanes and bombs might play their inevitable part? The Navy might not be able to sail in obsolete battleships all the way to Moscow, but it would spend billions of dollars on enormous sitting-duck carriers that would be easy targets for powerful and swift airplanes. Why build airfields on solid land when we can operate, momentarily at least, from the miniature offshore and storm-tossed airfields that are the vulnerable flattops of the Navy?

One does not need to be a military expert to discern that, on the basis of the last two wars, the objective of our military strategists ought to be to see to it that we have an adequate supply of bombs, including A-bombs, along with airplanes capable of carrying such bombs to the enemy. We must also have a trained personnel to fly the warships of the future such vast distances at such terrific speeds as to be beyond the imagination of naval officers who look back with nostalgic eyes upon the trireme. Of course we need a navy. We should not neglect to maintain as big and powerful and mobile a navy as shall be required, in any foreseeable contingency, to act as escorts of our merchantmen and transports, and defend, not only against the deadly submarine, which the Navy was so dilatory in meeting during the last war, but against attacks from other surface ships and from bombers. The American Navy has played a great role in the past and there will be more than enough glory for it to earn in any future war. But this does not mean that the Navy should subjugate to itself any other armed service.

The crass partisanship of Chairman Vinson cannot be condoned. Disciplinary action is called for, including a repudiation of the dogmatic and arbitrary Mr. Vinson by his committee. Captain Crommelin and those whose wormy chestnuts he so obligingly attempted to pull out of the fire, even at the risk of his professional honor, should quickly have bestowed upon them the shabby martyrdom that they have invited. But could Admiral Denfeld, even before his demotion, have been depended upon to discipline Captain Crommelin? After all, he was little short of being insubordinate when Secretary Johnson quite properly countermanded the suspiciously hasty order of former Secretary Sullivan, another truckler to the admirals, to build the *United States*, a carrier that went beyond all concepts of reason.

It is now or never. Weakness on the part of Secretary Johnson or President Truman would mean naval dominance of the armed forces at a time when the role of the Navy, as a matter of course, is becoming more and more circumscribed. Our Secretary of Defense, Louis A. Johnson, should continue to show the firmness that some of his predecessors lacked. The people owe him full support and he should be made aware of it. The country is now aware that the Navy will ruin if it cannot rule.

HAROLD L. ICKES

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS IN REVIEW

IN CHINA THE PEOPLE DECIDED

by Edgar Snow

THIS IS MORE than just a good book about China; it is a book in which the Chinese people eloquently tell us what they are about. Jack Belden is a gifted writer immersed in a subject which he describes, as an eyewitness, in terms of a deep revolution *in* the people's lives, and not just "affecting" their lives; human beings each slowly making a little declaration of independence in his own heart. He makes lucid at last the meaning of China's first thoroughgoing social revolution for more than 1,200 years.

CHINA SHAKES THE WORLD, by Jack Belden (Harpers; $5).

Not the Communist Party, not the Kremlin and its Red Army, not a series of devices or narrow conspiracies manipulated by either one of them, created the new power now entrenched in Peking. The revolution made that power; a revolution that consisted of people and derived its energy from the will and struggle of the millions. That is something which the makers of American policy, who saw China as a hunk of territory, a strategic area on the map, could never understand. In the end it was the people living in the space who decided.

That alone explains the collapse of Chiang Kai-shek and a political organization seemingly at the peak of its might and prestige. It explains the futility of the elaborate waste of more than $5 billion in American arms and services put at Chiang's disposal. It explains the complete destruction of the best-equipped, best-financed military force that China had ever seen, by ragged hordes of men, women and children roused to fury and murderous desperation by a regime that symbolized corruption and oppression.

Belden puts it this way:

> It was passion and principally passion that overwhelmed Chiang Kai-shek. The radiant hopes and murderous hates that the Chinese peasantry poured into the sphere of war and revolution released a flood of emotional energy that exploded with the force of an atomic bomb within Chinese society, nearly dissolving it. The extent and depths of these passions could be felt and seen and heard in the trampling rush of peasant feet toward the landlord's manor; in the dying gasp of a village noble whose body, as well as whose land, was divided by club-swinging peasants; in the flash of a pig knife plunged into the heart of a clan leader whose ancestral tablets the farmers might normally have worshipped; in the shriek of a girl whose mother led Chiang Kai-shek's secret service to chop off her daughter's head and pull out her intestines; in the snick of scissors wielded by women cutting off the flesh of a village oppressor. . . . Everywhere on the good Chinese earth these passions rose up as a new and unconquerable force.

No one wishes to glorify the bestiality evoked by social cataclysm on this scale. But it is imperative to know how it was canalized into an irresistible power. Belden leads us to the answers, step by step, through personal narrative of his travels back into the Chinese countryside in the fateful winter of 1947. His brief pictures bring the landscape to life; one hears the ice snap under the rims of the mule cart's heavy wheels, and smells the dry brush smoldering in the peasants' smoky *kangs*. Between encounters on the road, main facts of Chinese history and society are filled in, with the broad outline of two decades of the Generalissimo's rule, of the Japanese invasion, and of the long occupation.

We learn how the peasants, led by Communists of the Eighth Route Army, organized and armed themselves, and renewed and intensified the fight against Japan, while cut off for eight years from any outside aid. We see how the guerrillas won back, village by village, territory in which Japan had originally crushed all Kuomintang (Nationalist) resistance in a few weeks. And we are told how the people's governments, set up by peasant guerrilla victories, at the war's end controlled 800,000 square miles of territory, with 140 million inhabitants.

In these chapters, Belden lifts the curtain on a scene of dramatic change brought about in the peasants' life during the war. It becomes clear that these changes laid the foundations for a new society which could never afterward be extinguished by Chiang Kai-shek. Today's revolution began with such mild reforms and innovations in the stagnant village society as reduction of land rent, abolition of ruinous taxes and usury, liquidation of farm debt, utilization of wasteland and the holdings of absentee landlords, incentives for increased production, promotion of agricultural and handicraft coöperatives, the spread of schools and rural theatres, and everywhere the mass organizations of youth, of the peasants, of women. All this, going forward under the impetus of patriotic slogans, gradually brought about a transfer of local power from the landlords and their henchmen to popular councils backed by armed peasants: for the first time, the people felt that they had a stake in government.

It was not then Communism or Socialism, but it was a new society with a new morality and an equalitarian self-sufficiency, a brotherhood which united the people and which they would defend with their lives when the Kuomintang and the Generalissimo's troops tried to return, behind their mechanized brigades, in 1946. Belden devotes more than 300 pages to explaining how this new peasant army fought and won the civil war. His section on land and the revolution

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is an invaluable synthesis of history, statistics and first-hand observation of the farmer claiming his bit of earth. His descriptions of the strategy and tactics followed by both sides will probably not be surpassed.

Belden mercilessly exposes Chiang's incompetence as a general, his blindness as a politician and his impotence as a national leader who feared his own people more than the Japanese. He prints many verified accounts of the corruption, despotism and callous exploitation of soldiers and people which demoralized and finally destroyed the Kuomintang armies, discredited the Generalissimo, and sent his family to an American exile, carrying with them millions of dollars in treasure and loot.

This book contains enough material to make a dozen novels. The story of "Gold Flower," for example, is a complete drama, stark and poignant as an Erskine Caldwell tale—but with what a different resolution! Cowed and hopeless, Gold Flower had been full of suppressed resentments against a loafer husband who alternately whipped and used her, against a mother-in-law and father-in-law who literally treated her as a slave. In her own words she tells how she revolted after the "turning-over" movement (the revolution) reached her village. Of all the exciting changes mentioned above none had such astonishing reality for her as the Women's Association, set up to teach, produce, and to defend woman's rights as an equal of man. We see this Association gain meaning in Gold Flower's life until at last her female allies drag her husband before a village court, accuse him, and end by beating him to a pulp. Disgraced and ostracized, he flees from the village, to leave Gold Flower in peace, ready to take a mate of her own choosing. This may sound crude and naïve, and it is. But such stories, scattered through the book, make clear the little-known but enormously important role of women in China's civil war and the many ways in which they shaped its result.

In the last 50 pages Belden evaluates the rich material put before us, and brings it into a focus of history and the future. Much influenced by Bertrand de Jouvenel's *On Power*, he borrows from him in interpretation of revolution, seen as the popular passions evoked in a crisis of elemental needs, combined with a power hunger which emerges to provide leadership for the engine of destruction—a team which can later develop its own contradictions, after the common enemy is destroyed. A chapter on Property confirms what has long been known about the Communists' desire to retain a "mixed economy," in a pre-socialist period, for some years to come. Finally, the author crisply defines some new and old concepts of freedom in China, contrasts them with values in the West and with the dictatorship in Russia, discusses good and bad effects of the revolution on individual rights, and points out dangers that lie ahead, in the growth of a state power likely to be more formidable than anything seen in China for centuries.

Belden devotes enough space to the Russian dynamic to bring it into the perspective of his main story of internal events in China. He recognizes that the new Chinese regime will align itself with Moscow indefinitely unless an attempt is made to force China to sacrifice vital national interests in order to accommodate Russian needs—a possibility, but by no means a certainty. It is Mao Tse-tung, not Stalin, whom Chinese Communists regard as a "savior," says Belden. Despite polite praise rendered to the Kremlin's moral support, they are proudly conscious of winning without Russian intervention. Since Soviet power assumed no responsibility in achieving the victory, there is no reason to suppose that the Chinese Communists will now hand the Kremlin internal responsibility—or give it effective control over the Chinese party apparatus, to dictate policy.

If any one book can make Americans understand the Chinese catastrophe, this volume should do it. Seldom has reporting so faithful to reality been presented in prose so powerful and moving that it succeeds in identifying the fate of a foreign people with the reader himself. Beyond doubt, *China Shakes the World* is one of the most valuable books ever written about our neighbors in Asia.

Edgar Snow, an associate editor of the Saturday Evening Post, is the author of Red Star Over China, The Pattern of Soviet Power and other books on Asia and Russia.

SOUTH OF THE BORDER

THE CONDOR AND THE COWS, by Christopher Isherwood (Random House; $3.50).

"I AM BEGINNING to realize," Christopher Isherwood recorded in his travel diary at Bogota, "my enormous advantage in being Anglo-American. . . . I have lived long enough in the States to have developed a kind of bi-focal vision, and this, it seems, is now starting to operate."

Perhaps bi-focal vision is the last thing one needs to write a successful travel book; the two parts of the lens cancel each other out and what is left is a curiously flat and impersonal impression. In any case, the admittedly partially fictional "Christopher Isherwood" who figured in *Lions and Shadows* and *Goodbye to Berlin* is completely missing from this journal of a trip through five South American republics. In his place is a conscientious, literate and sometimes amusing observer who records his observations in the most conventional manner, offering a smattering of information on geography, culture, social customs, politics, economics and religion in each of the places he visited and only occasionally reminding the reader, by direct reference, that he is Christopher Isherwood the novelist.

The result is a smooth mixture, for Isherwood is a finished writer. But it is never unexpected, usually less perceptive than one would hope for from the author, and occasionally a little tiresome. It has fallen directly into the pitfall that awaits all travel books unless they possess a strong personality of their own or highly specialized knowledge of their subject: it gives too much information for the reader only

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

casually interested in South America and not enough for anyone really concerned with understanding any one of the republics covered. People, towns, cities, scenery in one country after another blend together until it is hard to keep them apart, and there are few highlights (the description of Buenos Aires is one of them).

Most of the book appeared previously in various American magazines, which strengthens the suspicion that it was written on assignment. It is handsomely presented, with a series of photographs by William Caskey, who accompanied Isherwood. It also contains one heartening entry, written while Isherwood was staying at Arequipa, Peru:

> There is something delightful in the atmosphere, something soft and lucid, soothing yet stimulating. . . . I hadn't been here ten minutes before I began getting ideas for my next novel, which I have scarcely even thought about in weeks.

That alone seems sufficient reason for Isherwood's trip to South America, and when the novel is published, *The Condor and the Cows* can probably be decently forgotten.

ANNE L. GOODMAN

BRIEF COMMENT

Don Quixote, by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. Translated by Samuel Putnam (The Viking Press; $10).

Samuel Putnam's new and already celebrated translation of Cervantes is strongly printed on fine paper and bound in two handsome volumes which are a pleasure to hold in the hand. And that's as close as most literate persons, so called, will ever come to the Spanish classic. They entertain a vague idea of the whole associated with the image of windmills and the adjective "quixotic," as well as a slapstick misconception of the Don and his squire, popularized, says Putnam, by earlier translators who presumed that a work of popular inspiration must be one of low comedy.

The problem of keeping the classics alive is something more than just keeping them in print. Where those works are known mainly in translation, they occasionally need, the present translator argues, "to be brought back to their original lustre." He has worked for sixteen years with "love and reverence" (and sensitive scholarship) to do as much for Cervantes, and the result is a remarkable balance between the meaning and tone of the original and our contemporary idiom. It will be the occasion, no doubt, for awakened interest in *Don Quixote*, and a number of people will actually read through the two volumes, but as for Putnam's dream of "popularity"—how many classics of our own language are in any true sense popular?

55 Short Stories from *The New Yorker* (Simon and Schuster; $4).

That unique magazine (or institution), the *New Yorker*, approaches its silver anniversary (February, 1950) and celebrates the occasion with this bulky selection from stories published during the last decade. One may deplore it as deadeningly superficial or subscribe to it as the official handbook of the metropolitan attitude, but for twenty-five years now the *New Yorker* has been successfully persuading the inhabitant of the Yankee seaboard (and his watchers from afar) that he's something of a sap, and showing him how to laugh it off.

In an ideal anniversary volume, the cartoons and regular features, not the stories, would represent the *New Yorker's* achievement. Insofar as they do represent it, the stories are its weakest element. A high standard of excellence is claimed for them; a high surface polish they generally achieve. A few of the most accomplished of American writers do publish in its pages, but their best work consistently finds its way somewhere else. What most *New Yorker* stories share can best be defined negatively, and the jacket blurb of this volume obliges with a touchstone. Certain of these pieces, it claims, "strikes so sharply at the heart as to force a re-examination of one's values." That is just about consistently not so.

W. B. Yeats, by A. Norman Jeffares (The Yale University Press; $5).

His present biographer says of Yeats: "He was constantly rediscovering himself. . . . He had so many ways of expressing himself now [in his later years], and his personality was now, after the many years of tension, so worth expressing." The elements and growth of that personality as found in the poetry are the subject of this study, and they account for its somewhat lopsided shape as a biography. For instance, what Yeats himself called his "perplexed wooing" of Maud Gonne is a major theme, while his marriage and family life are all but neglected.

One may cavil at this approach to poetry as the expression of a personality, and indeed the often too-ingenious biographical interpretations betray the weakness—occasionally the irrelevance—of that approach. But there is so much in Yeats's poetry that is personal, so many references to his public life, to politics, spiritualism, history, so many personal and place names, that this richly factual account, drawing heavily on unpublished biographical material, is of first importance to scholars, and more important, assists the reader in his enjoyment of the poetry.

Willa Cather on Writing (Alfred A. Knopf; $2.25).

This book collects several essays and letters of the late novelist, all (with the exception of one "fragment") published previously. It would be hard to guess the purpose of their republication; they add nothing to Miss Cather's reputation and only establish that, whatever she was, she wasn't a critic. The pieces do make clear that her standards in art were high—thin and strict might be closer to the truth. They recall, further, that she admired certain human qualities, such as loyalty and perseverance, and they suggest that her literary preferences were largely determined by these admirations. The most (but not very) interesting items are recollections of the concept and design of several of her own novels. If these seem familiar, that's to Miss Cather's credit; it is because they are contained so implicitly in the books themselves.

Dominique, by Eugene Fromentin. Translated by Sir Edward Marsh (The Chanticleer Press; $2.75).

Eugene Fromentin was a painter of the school of Delacroix, remembered now for the few books he found time to write, and particularly for his autobiographical novel, *Dominique.*

The story of his first love is told by Dominique himself, looking back from long retirement on his estate in Brittany to his youth in the Paris of the Second Empire. This perspective is the triumph of the book: the contrast between Dominique's hectic, unhappy youth in the brilliant city and the present wise contentment of his country life (with beautiful descriptions of landscape and the sea) achieves the elegiac note of melancholy which is *Dominique's* peculiar charm.

It is, in fact, a minor classic among French romantic novels, a recommendation merited by its perennial beauty and not with any condescension to a curiosity or a type.

J. F.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THEATRE: English Visitation

IT REALLY doesn't matter much about a revue: you like it or don't—principles are rarely involved. I have no opinion of "Touch and Go," but it is perhaps my duty to note that it is a hit. Three numbers made me laugh: "Gorilla Girl" shows a movie director getting excellent thespian coöperation from a gorilla but nothing but ulcers from his blonde starlet; "Be a Mess" is amusing patter about the fact that most of the ladies who win movie Oscars for their performances are those bold enough to eschew glamor; "Cinderella" is served à la Kazan. The climax of the last number is a water-closet sound effect that I dare not attempt to describe in a family magazine.

The English have a way of turning out dry portraits of familiar and peculiarly British types, which are supposed to be admired for their cool objectivity, but which prove on close inspection to be sentimental, if not secretly worshipful, tributes to British virtues. Galsworthy was a past master at this game. Terence Rattigan is pretty good at it too. In Rattigan's "The Browning Version," one of the two plays of the double bill being given at the Coronet, Maurice Evans plays a dried-up secondary-school professor of Latin and Greek. Most of his pupils consider him a tyrant, but he is only a scrupulous scholar with high standards.

Rattigan's professor is poky, stiff and humorless, but at the same time a man so basically human that he cries when he finds a student who really likes him, and so truly honorable that he bears his wife no ill will though she constantly cheats him. After all, says the professor, he committed the crime of marrying her. She could not give him the kind of love that was important to him (it is not made altogether clear what sort that is) while he obviously fails to give her the kind of love important to her, about which there can be no ambiguity. At the end of the play, the professor has won a friend—nay an admirer—in his wife's former lover, while the wife is left, so to speak, holding the bag.

I doubt that anywhere in the world but in England and among resolute Anglophiles in America are such portraits taken as probing character studies. They are really salon art with most of the attributes of mature work except reality. Rattigan has the good sense to wind up his play with a Maugham-like joke. He has also provided good parts for his actors.

What touched me most in "The Browning Version" was Maurice Evans' attempt to *act*. This is perhaps an ungracious way of putting it, but the fact is that Evans is usually less an actor than a reader. Since "The Browning Version" is not especially notable from a literary standpoint, Evans is forced to carry the play instead of depending on the play and his gift for vigorous enunciation to carry him.

His make-up is good, and the moments of emotional embarrassment are extremely well indicated. The particular manner in which Evans breaks down—like a man to whom weeping is a humiliation—so that he becomes somewhat more forcibly childish than moving, proves him an observant and thoughtful actor. Despite this, the part never comes alive, because Evans' technique is calculated only to show his audience what he is experiencing, and he is experiencing little beyond the determination to make clear what he is supposed to be experiencing. Evans' *soul* does not act, and his external technique is not as good as it should be, since it is too strenuously in evidence. He does not possess "the art that hides art."

Evans' faults are aggravated in the company that surrounds him. I have rarely seen anything as un-British as the performance given by this cast of English, near-English and would-be English actors. For no matter how repressed or formal Englishmen may be, they are rarely musclebound. The company acted as if behaving like Englishmen were killing them. . . . As for "Harlequinade"—the second item of the Rattigan double bill—it is wholly lamentable. I hasten, however, to absolve the author. Any group of entertainers at one of our summer camps for adults could have been funnier in this lampoon of old-style stars.

Space limitations prevent me from giving more than passing notice at this time to the enormously successful Sadler's Wells Ballet season at the Metropolitan Opera House. The performances in the main are gentle, wholesome, almost sweet, with a pastel-like modesty and dignity. The ensemble is generally very fine, though the women outshine the men. The complete "Sleeping Beauty" and "Swan Lake" ballets are handsomely

THE COLOR OF RIPENING

A Novel About the Wobblies and Their Dream

By MATTHEA THORSETH

AUTHOR OF CRADLED IN THUNDER

Recruited in bunkhouses and skidroads, moving by back alleys and railway sidings, taking brief, cheap pleasures along the way, the motley army of the I.W.W. waged a bitter and not ineffective war against poverty and suppression. Its hopes, human failings and strange camaraderie are faithfully portrayed in this well knit, powerful story.

*An emblem used by the I.W.W. following widespread arrest and imprisonment of its members.

ORDER BY MAIL

SUPERIOR PUBLISHING COMPANY
P. O. Box 2190 — 2809 Third Avenue
Seattle 11, Washington

Please send *The Color of Ripening* at $3.00 postpaid. Check or money order enclosed. I understand that I can return the book within 5 days for refund if not completely satisfied.

Name.....

Address.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

done, with such superbly gracious dancers as Margot Fonteyn and such extremely attractive ones as Moira Shearer and Beryl Grey. Oliver Messel's sets for "The Sleeping Beauty" are distinguished, and Jean Maclès has done brilliantly with the costumes for "Cinderella." The company is far less happy in its modern repertory, although I found interesting things in Robert Helpmann's staging and Leslie Hurry's setting of what someone described as the Sadler's Wells' pressure-cooker "Hamlet." What I have observed thus far at these English ballets is a reassuring soundness, but I am rather disappointed at their failure to disturb me. HAROLD CLURMAN

ON THE AIR: At Sea with Hitler

FOR TWO WEEKS, CBS's television operation was in an absolute dither. "Studio One," the dramatic program occupying a full hour Monday nights from ten to eleven, was to do a job termed colossal and ballyhooed as such by everyone at the network short of the chairman of the board. It was impressed upon this reviewer, as upon others, that one simply had to see the production in the studio to appreciate fully its staggering effect.

We saw it. The play, "Battleship Bismarck," dealt with life aboard Hitler's pride of the seas which, in 1941, managed to duck the British blockade for a brief period of naval glory. There was a cast of fifty, there were four cameras, enough technical personnel to crowd a PT boat, and many sets, built and assembled by Don Gilman with loving authenticity. Bridge, cabins, gun turrets, seamen's quarters, radar room and decks seemed life-size —some were. The sound effects were paralyzing and the heavy smoke of battle hung above the scene.

"Battleship Bismarck" was written by Maurice Valency for the stage, not for television. The author's name is one that counts on Broadway. He made the successful American adaptation of Jean Giradoux's "The Madwoman of Chaillot," and his version of another Giradoux play, "Intermezzo," is now being staged by George S. Kaufman, who will call it "The Enchanted." In between being a Giradoux interpreter and teaching at Columbia University, Valency tackled the rise and fall of Hitler's big, "unsinkable" battlewagon, and CBS was understandably gleeful at having scooped Broadway with a video preview.

After the heroics of the studio, however, the play was a disappointment as it appeared on the living-room screen. Worthington Miner, producer of "Studio One," cut the two-hour stage version to about fifty minutes of playing time—there had to be time for four Westinghouse commercials. He had not only mounted the production well; he cast it superbly, with Paul Lukas playing the lead as the captain of the *Bismarck* and Charleton Heston in the role of a German gunnery officer who was torn by conflict between loyalty to the skipper and sorrow over the death of his Jewish mother in a concentration camp. Paul Nickell directed and kept a tight rein over the fast action. But I couldn't tell what all the talent and noise was intended to convey.

I suspected that Valency was trying to recreate, through the *Bismarck's* fatal journey, the fate of Nazism. But I couldn't be sure. There was a lot of derring-do, a good deal of blundering and Nazi bluster and cruelty, and at moments there was even some mature dialogue. But somehow you felt, when the ship went down, that very little had happened except pageantry. Valency may have a play there, but if he has, it's for Broadway, not for video. TV had better have its originals written for the medium itself. "Bismarck's" studio confusion was organized and controlled. As seen on the home screen, its theme was chaotic.

Not everything attempted by tele-

MOTION PICTURE

Paramount presents
ALAN LADD · DONNA REED
"Chicago Deadline"
with
June HAVOC · Irene HERVEY · Arthur KENNEDY
Produced by ROBERT FELLOWS · Directed by LEWIS ALLEN
in Person
JO STAFFORD
JACKIE GREEN
PEIRO BROTHERS
PAUL WESTON
And His Orchestra
PARAMOUNT
TIMES SQUARE · Midnight Feature Nightly

RESORTS

THANKSGIVING AT
ARROWHEAD
FULL SOCIAL STAFF
LEO MILLER—ORCHESTRA
RESERVE NOW
ELLENVILLE, NEW YORK • • City Phone
Phone: Ellenville 502 GR 7-1267

Green Acres LODGE
CENTRAL VALLEY, N. Y. Tennis • Golf Swimming Pool • Television • Unexcelled Music and Book Library • An adult resort 45 miles from N. Y. Tel. Highland Mills 3071

CIGARETTES

CIGARETTES—Popular brands $1.51 per carton postpaid. West of Mississippi add 7¢ per carton. Min. order 3 cartons. Send check or money order. King Co., Elkton 2, Md.

DRUGS

MALE HORMONES, average 30-day supply $4.40; also female hormones, vitamins at low prices. Specify your requirements. Ace Mail Order Co., East Orange B, N. J.

GEIGER COUNTER

MAKE your next vacation trip profitable as well as enjoyable. Take a GEIGER COUNTER along. You may yet win that $10,000.00 for locating Uranium ores. $54.50 postpaid. Great Lakes Plastic Chemical Co., Leaf River 1, Illinois.

LANGUAGES

LINGUAPHONE MAKES LANGUAGES EASY. At home learn to speak Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, French, German, Russian, by quick, easy Linguaphone Conversational method. Save time, work, money. Send for FREE book. Linguaphone Institute. 86 RCA Bldg., New York

LITERARY SERVICES

WRITERS—Efficient sales service for your books, short stories, articles, plays. Free booklet. Write today! Daniel S. Mead Literary Agency, 419 4th Ave., New York 16, N. Y

Classified Rates
Per word once 12 cents
Per word 6 times 11 cents
Per word 13 times 10 cents
NEW REPUBLIC

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vision is done on the big scale. For instance, in the quarter-hour following "Bismarck," CBS put on something called the "Faye Emerson Show." Miss Emerson was there, but that's all. She was supposed to chat about Hollywood, Broadway and related matters, but she had nothing to talk about. She was supposed to have interesting guests—these turned out to be the ventriloquist Paul Winchell with his "Jerry Mahoney" dummy. It seemed as if even the cameraman was embarrassed—I could swear that Miss Emerson was.

Chit-chat programs had best be left to radio unless television is willing to invest in visual elements that really mean something. Even then success is uncertain.

I did see something worth while on the ABC-TV channel on a recent Tuesday night. It was the half-hour "Oboler Comedy Theatre," written and produced by Arch Oboler. The show consisted of three short dramatizations, one of them only five minutes long.

Oboler, among the more imaginative of radio's top writers, is obviously still in the experimental stage of his television work. But he is a smart craftsman who could help TV find its way. That five-minute piece, "The Laughing Man," using only one character, could be called comedy because the man did make the sounds of laughter. But it was our civilization—viewed from a vantage point 20,000 years in the future—at which he roared because he found us absolutely incredible.

The five-minute capsule set a possible pattern for television. But I'm not so sure that's the kind of pattern TV seeks. Right now, it wants more Milton Berles rather than more Obolers, old or new. ABC-TV, in fact, has acknowledged Berle's superiority by announcing that on Tuesday nights it will not go on the air hereafter until nine o'clock, the hour when Berle's last pillow-fight is completed over at NBC-TV. There is no place for drollery, only for the Berle-type drool.

SAUL CARSON

BANDWAGON

Requirement for Residence

False names are to be used by two students for a debate on the Communist party to be held in the Trinity College Chapel. One student plans to continue to visit the USA, the other to make his home there after graduation. – *Canadian University Press dispatch from Toronto.*

And Possibly Vice Versa

What effect on US-Soviet relations Russian possession of atomic explosives will have is anybody's guess.

State Department sources hoped it would have a "sobering" effect on Russian statesmen. – *From the Lawrence, Mass.*, Evening Tribune.

But Can He Vote?

A new dog house was opened Tuesday night with typical Hollywood fanfare. The mayor, California attorney general, chief of police and sheriff turned out.

Mayor Fletcher Bowren snipped a ribbon officially opening the home of Earl Gilmore's new Scotch terrier. – *AP dispatch from Hollywood.*

There's a Limit

But millions of Britons have signed up under its [the medical-care plan's] "cradle to the grave" terms—terms which may have to be extended considerably. . . . – *From* Hospital Management.

The New Austerity

Pre-heat teapot with boiling water, pour out water, and add one tablespoon of black tea while the water boils. Drop in the petals from two or three gardenias and pour boiling water over petals. Let steep, and notice the delicate jasmine-like flavor. It is a good way to use yesterday's gardenias. – *From the Melbourne, Victoria,* Argus.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clippings. – The Editors

BOOKS

"I didn't think it could be done, but Dale Kramer has done it with taste and just the right amount of irreverence." –F.P.A.

Heywood BROUN

by Dale Kramer

$3.50 at all bookstores A. A. WYN, New York

PUBLISHED FOR THE FIRST TIME

James T. Farrell's

Famous Paris speech exposing the Kremlin's attack on America and the intensification of the cold war.

TRUTH AND MYTH ABOUT AMERICA

by the author of "Studs Lonigan" and 20 other novels.

A brilliant analysis of the Stalinist international smear campaign against American democracy and the American people. This pamphlet is a reasoned statement against dictatorship of or over the proletariat, affirming instead a democratic change for social progress.

Send 15¢, which covers postage and mailing, to the

RAND BOOK STORE

7 East 15 Street, N. Y. 3 • Limited Edition

BOOKS OF ALL KINDS FROM THE USSR

Just Arrived! N. A. DOBROLIUBOV

Selected Philosophical Essays

In English — 650 pp. — $2.50

Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts

1950 SUBSCRIPTIONS OPEN FOR ALL SOVIET NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

Ask for Complete Catalogue "P-49"

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.

55 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 MU 8-2660

"I am grateful to you for granting me some insight into this fascinating world."—Thomas Mann.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A YOGI

By

Paramhansa Yogananda

" 'Autobiography of a Yogi' is a fascinating and clearly annotated study of a religious way of life, ingeniously described in the lush style of the Orient."—Newsweek.

$3.50—500 pp., 32 pages of unusual photos

SELF-REALIZATION FELLOWSHIP

Dept. R, 3880 San Rafael Ave., Los Angeles 31, Cal.

BOOKS

ATHEIST BOOKS. 32-page catalogue free. Truth Seeker Co., 38 Park Row, N. Y. C. 8.

GOOD USED BOOKS. 50¢-$1, none higher. Remarkable values; postal brings lists. EDITIONS, Box 304-N, Hempstead, N. Y.

Printed by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y. 178

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Advertisement

THE RIGHT TO BAIL

in any case where a question of law is to be reviewed by the higher courts is guaranteed by the Eighth Amendment to the Constitution.

Yet, on Friday, October 21, Federal Judge Harold Medina and the Justice Department violated this basic democratic American principle by refusing bail to 11 Communist leaders, convicted under the Smith Act, whose constitutionality is widely questioned because it makes "teaching and advocating" a crime!

What They Said About Denial of Bail

"....unnecessarily vindictive,"

—CHARLES M. LaFOLLETTE,
National Director of the Americans for Democratic Action.

"....should be admitted to bail,"

—HERBERT M. LEVY,
Staff counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union.

AGREEMENT OR DISAGREEMENT with the program of the Communist Party is not the issue in this case.

The issue today is the right to bail.

The current political hysteria which led to the banning of the "Nation" in the public schools of New York and to the shocking violence of Peekskill has now reached its climax in this case with the *denial* of the fundamental right to bail.

If the Bill of Rights is nullified for one group or political party, you can lose *your* freedom.

DEFEND YOUR RIGHTS BY ENFORCING THE RIGHT TO BAIL! WIRE ATTORNEY-GENERAL J. HOWARD McGRATH, WASHINGTON, D. C., NOW ASKING THAT HE SUPPORT THE APPEAL FOR BAIL!

NATIONAL NON-PARTISAN COMMITTEE
To Defend the Rights of the 12 Communist Leaders
23 West 26th Street New York 10, N. Y.

Please send me more information on the case.

I enclose $_____ to help defend the Bill of Rights.

NAME:_____

STREET ADDRESS:_____

CITY:_____ ZONE:_____ STATE:_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED